

THE
ALARM:

OR,

An ADDRESS

TO THE

NOBILITY, GENTRY, and CLERGY,

OF THE

CHURCH OF IRELAND,
AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED.

NON ARDOR CIVIUM PRAVA JUBENTUM
MENTE QUATIT SOLIDA.

HOR.

D. Quigley

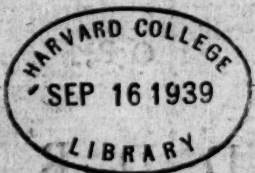
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A L A R M



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~~and power~~
~~the liberty~~

your religious and civil rights and privi-

T H E

A L L A R M :

of the mark, and openly declared, that they will attempt by force of arms, to change the established constitution in church and state; and you have invari-

A N N O U N C E M E N T S :

with arms, to form themselves into military corps, and learn military tactics, ~~to be in some measure~~ able to put their menaces into execution. They have nominated and appointed generals, and *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

THE present confederacy of your antient and irreconcilable enemies, the Puritans and Roman Catholics, avowed in the numberless seditious publications, or rather manifestoes, daily circulating throughout this kingdom, should long since have roused you out of that lethargy, which has overwhelmed you, and seems, from its
B duration

duration and powerful influence, to prognosticate the speedy dissolution of your religious and civil rights and privileges.

THESE two factions have now thrown off the mask, and openly declared, that they will attempt, by * force of arms, to change the established constitution in church and state ; and you have unwarily suffered them, to furnish themselves with arms, to form themselves into military corps, and learn military tactics, so as to be, in some measure, able to put their menaces into execution. They have nominated and appointed generals, and all kinds of subordinate military officers, to command their several associated bands ; and have actually formed a great and permanent council of war, composed of these officers, deputed from all their several troops and regiments. This council of war (stiled by them a national

* See the Dungeness Resolutions and other Publications.

convention,

convention, to prevent the people from being alarmed at the institution of a military tyranny) the united factions openly declare, they have assembled to awe, and (in the language of the usurping army in the grand rebellion) to purge the legislature of the nation.

THE Puritanic faction, who, it must be admitted; were the original schemers of this conspiracy, finding, that they were not able to effect their design, by their own strength; that strength being chiefly confined to three counties only, in the northern parts of this Kingdom, determined to call to their aid, the Roman Catholics, who form the great mass of the people. 'Tis true, these two factions have been often at variance, although they have ever united, when they had any prospect of being able to overturn the establishment: it is equally true, that when they had succeeded, in such attempts (as they twice did, once in the grand rebellion, and again in the year 1689) they never

failed to disagree about the division of the spoil, and fall to cutting each others throats: it is also true that the Roman Catholics in this kingdom exceed the Puritans in number, in the proportion of fifty to one at least; so that both experience and common sense, should have deterred the Puritans, from endeavouring to alter the constitution by a confederacy with such powerful coadjutors; it being next to demonstration, if they succeeded with combined strength, that the Puritans would receive no greater share of the spoil, than the Lyon allotted to the smaller beasts who hunted with him; yet such is the turbulent zeal of these levelling fanatics, and so greedy their appetite for havock and destruction, that they prefer a dangerous alliance, with those they hate, and who hate them, for the purpose of setting on foot the blessed work of anarchy and rebellion; to the peaceable enjoyment of the fullest liberty and prosperity.

As

As the commencement of open hostilities against the State, by the united factions at this present crisis, might tend to defeat the end they aim at; it being yet necessary for them to cajole the Nation, and particularly the Protestants of the established church, to prevent their taking the alarm, before their scheme is fully ripe for execution: their manifestoes now set forth, that they have nothing in view, but the reformation of the state; that by the original constitution, the House of Commons ought to be the representative of the people, elected by the mass of the people; that the House of Commons, as at present constituted, is not the representative of the people, but is elected by a small part of the people only: that it is necessary the members of the House of Commons should be elected by the majority of the people at large; and in order to effect this, that all or most of the boroughs should be disfranchised, and the number of representatives for the counties and great cities enlarged, *and that the*
Roman

Roman Catholics should be admitted to vote for representatives in the counties and large cities.

THIS scheme is very palatable to the mass of the inhabitants of this nation; and to a superficial observer might seem at first view, to carry nothing unreasonable with it, or prejudicial to the state; but it is not a very difficult task, to convince every Protestant of the established church, that it is a scheme, purely calculated, for the ruin of the present establishment in church and state, that if it should, succeed, the present constitution will not only be changed, but annihilated; all the fruits of the labours and perils of our ancestors blasted; the estates, real and personal, of every Protestant of the established church, and probably of the Puritans themselves, swept away in a moment; and that their lives can be no otherwise secured, than by a speedy flight from their native country.

number of representatives for the counties
and great cities enlarged, and the
Roman

To demonstrate this, I shall first lay down a few propositions; for the truth of which I appeal to the knowledge and conviction of the Protestants of the established church throughout the kingdom.

FIRST. In the province of Connaught, the Roman Catholics, and those who are popishly inclined, though nominally Protestants, exceed the Protestants of the established church in number, in the proportion of forty to one,

SECONDLY. In the Provinces of Leinster and Munster, the proportion is twenty to one.

THIRDLY. in the Province of Ulster, the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh excepted, the proportion is six to one at least: and in those three excepted counties, one to three.

FOURTHLY

FOURTHLY. In these three counties last mentioned, the Puritans exceed the Protestants of the established church in number, in the proportion of two to one.

FIFTHLY. In cities and great towns throughout the kingdom, Derry, Belfast and Newry, excepted, the Roman Catholics exceed the Protestants and Puritans together in number, in the proportion of eight to one.

SIXTHLY. Taking the whole kingdom together, the Protestants of the established church exceed the Puritans in number, in the proportion of four to one.

FROM these incontrovertible propositions, it clearly follows. First, that if the privilege of voting for representatives in parliament, be extended to Roman Catholics: and if the Boroughs be disfranchised; the Roman Catholics will

will return all the members of the house of commons, except the representatives for three or four counties at the most, and three or four cities or large towns; the representatives for which will be certainly returned by the Puritans, with the assistance of the Roman Catholics.

SECONDLY, it follows, that the Protestants of the church established, will not be able to return one member of parliament, though in the whole kingdom taken together, they exceed the Puritans in number, in the proportion of four to one, as before mentioned.

THIRDLY, it follows, that when nine tenth parts of the house of commons are Roman Catholics, and the remaining tenth Puritans; the present establishment in church and state will be immediately annihilated. The conduct of such a parliament, supported by the body of the people in arms, will certainly

certainly be the same, with that of a similar assembly, convened in Ireland by King James the second, after his abdication, and by him called a parliament,

To shew the Protestants of the established church, what they are to expect from such a parliament, it will be only necessary to recite a few of the ordinances of that famous popish convention assembled at Dublin.

THEY, immediately after they met, passed a general act of attainder, against all the Protestant nobility, clergy, gentry and yeomanry in the Kingdom; without specifying any one crime alledged to be committed by any person included in the act; but on their general assertion that all the protestants were traytors. In order to include all the members of the university, provost, fellows, and scholars, in this act of attainder: they sent for the buttery books, in which all their names

names were inserted; but the provost and fellows had escaped to England, and concealed the buttery books, so that their design was partly disappointed.

THEY passed an act to repeal the acts of settlement and explanation, and to restore to the old native Irish, all the landed property, which they had lost by their rebellions, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth: thus at one stroke, transferring almost the whole landed property of the nation, from the Protestants to the Roman Catholics. When this act of repeal was introduced into this Pandemonium, it was received with a loud huzza!

THAT the ideas of divesting all Protestants of their landed property, are not yet worn out of the minds of the old native Irish, who compose the great body of the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom: their open and daily menaces testify; and may further appear, by the printing

printing and publishing a map of Ireland, very lately in Dublin? in which the whole kingdom is parcelled out amongst the old Irish septs; and the bounds and limits of the ancient possessions of each barbarous clan, accurately traced out and defined. Copies of this map, are now in the hands of every Roman Catholic, of any consequence, in the Kingdom.

THE same assembly passed an act, transferring all the estates of the established church whether in lands or tythes to the popish ecclesiasticks.

ANY person, who has curiosity enough to learn the other exploits of this Roman Catholic assembly, may consult Archbishop King's state of the Protestants in Ireland. It is sufficient for me to shew that by three of their acts, they proscribed the persons, alienated the estates, and rooted out the religion of the protestants throughout

throughout the nation, establishing their own superstition in its stead.

ALL the above mentioned outrages, were perpetrated by the Roman Catholics within this century: and it is pleasant now to hear the arguments, by which the combined factions endeavour, to lull the protestants of the established church, into an acquiescence with the claim of the Roman Catholics, to be allowed to vote for members of parliament; and into a concurrence with them in their scheme of disfranchising the boroughs; that is, as I have already demonstrated, to persuade the Protestants of the established church, to resign all power, and to give up their lives and estates into the custody of the Roman Catholics.

FIRST, say the Puritans, mankind is more enlightened now, than they were at the time of the revolution: we are much

much wiser than our fathers: the Roman Catholics now reprobate many of the most pernicious errors of popery: the Emperor and other Roman Catholic Princes, are curtailing the authority of the Pope: give up freely your lives and estates into the hands of the Roman Catholics, your fellow subjects; and they will be so far from making a bad use of the confidence you place in them, that they will behave to you as a faithful guardian to his ward.

Now in answer to this loose kind of argument, which I have often heard urged by the Puritans, and their abettors, with long and grave faces: it is sufficient to say: That mankind are not now more enlightened than they were at the time of the revolution: that we are not wiser than our fathers, if we may form our judgement on this head, by a comparative view of the learned works of the last and present age: such comparative view, and a fair estimate of the manners of the times, will, in my opinion, demonstrate, that we are not so wise, nor so good, as
our

our fathers were: that the Roman Catholics of the present time do not reprobate any of the errors of popery: if they do, I wish the Puritans would point out the errors reprobated; it is a maxim, a point of faith, with persons of the Romish communion, that their church and its decisions are infallible: When did any body of Roman Catholics renounce this doctrine? Though it be admitted, that the Emperor, and other Romish princes, are curtailing the power of the Pope, it will not follow from such admission, that they reprobate the most pernicious errors of Popery, or that our fellow subjects the Roman Catholics reprobate any error of popery whatsoever: for that flagitious tyrant Henry the VIII. remained a most bigotted Roman Catholic, after he had shaken off the Pope's authority and retained the most absurd and pernicious errors of popery; besides our Roman Catholics do not seem to admire the proceedings of the Emperor,

or

or to be any way influenced by his example. We are able and willing, under the protection of God's providence, to defend our own lives, and manage our estates, and we have no occasion nor necessity, to put ourselves under the guardianship either of Roman Catholics or Puritans: if we were reduced to such a state of dotage, as to want guardians, is it just that the guardianship of our persons and fortunes, should be committed to those who incessantly thirst and gape for our blood and our estates? Would the Lord Chancellor confer the guardianship of an infant heir on his neighbour, who had repeatedly attempted to murder him and despoil him of his estate? That would indeed be, to commit the lamb to the protection of the wolf: has not experience fully convinced us, that the Roman Catholics, in such case, would imitate the wicked husbandman in the gospel, and cry out, "This is the heir, come,

come, let us slay him, and the inheritance will be ours?"

ANOTHER argument urged by the Puritans in favour of their new allies is this: the Roman Catholics, say they, are now, by the repeal of the popery laws, enabled to acquire landed estates; power is the natural concomitant of dominion over the lands of a nation; their numbers, and their wealth, by degrees, will throw the ballance of the landed property into their hands, and consequently the ballance of power, therefore you had better, of your own accord, grant them the privilege of voting for representatives in parliament, which privilege, if now refused, they will, by degrees, be enabled to wrest from you.

THIS argument is very ridiculous, I have already shewn, that the granting this privilege to Roman Catholics, would entirely overthrow the state, and the established religion, and extirpate the adherents of

both in this kingdom: and the Puritans modestly desire us, to run voluntarily on our own destruction, for fear, in process of time, we should be destroyed against our wills, although it is very improbable, as I shall hereafter shew, that such destruction should ever overtake us, provided we behave like wise and brave men. If we should act, as they urge us to do, we should infinitely exceed in madness and folly, a certain man, who having engaged to fight a duel, shot himself through the head, on the night previous to the day, on which he had appointed to meet his antagonist, for fear he should be shot in the combat, to expose the improbability of the assertion; that in process of time, the acquisition of landed property by Roman Catholics, will enable them to extort the privilege of voting, if it be now refused; it is fully sufficient to observe that the great bulk of the landed property of this kingdom, is now in the hands of Protestants, and very little, comparatively speaking

speaking, in the hands of Roman Catholics, and that therefore a century, at least must elapse, before the gradual and slow acquisitions of industry (to which the bulk of the Roman Catholics by the bye, are not much disposed), will enable them to purchase, so much of the landed property, from the present possessors and their heirs, as even to put them on a level in point of landed interest, with the Protestants: so that this threatened period of the superiority of power in the Roman Catholics, from their lawful acquisitions of landed property, is at so great a distance, and its future existence, at any distance of time so problematical, that no argument for inducing Protestants to precipitate their own destruction, can be built upon it: and indeed, it is altogether fancyful and imaginary,

A THIRD argument adduced by the confederated factions, in favour of granting power (and the supreme power too)

to Roman Catholics, is, that they have behaved peaceably since the revolution; and have not in any manner disturbed the government, though Britain, during that period, was convulsed by two rebellions; and that consequently they have shewn themselves persons fit to be trusted with power. I shall shew, that this is an argument, in the first place, not strictly true: in the next, that it rather makes against the present interest of the Roman Catholics, to urge it: and in the last place, that they can derive no merit whatsoever from their peaceable behaviour at home.

AND first: the Roman Catholics of Ireland, ever since the year 1692, have shewn themselves implacable enemies, to the government of their country, and sufficiently demonstrated, that inability alone prevented their rebellion; a large and formidable body of Irish Roman Catholics, under the title of the Irish Brigade,

gade, have ever since the year 1692 served, and still serve, in the armies of France, the natural and perfidious enemy, of this nation and of Britain: so that, though those Roman Catholics who remained at home, through inability to act otherwise, behaved peaceably; yet their brothers, sons, and nearest relations, were constantly in arms against the nation abroad; and this kingdom has been, and yet is, the nursery of these hostile battalions,

In the second place, the peaceable demeanor of the Roman Catholics at home, for the greater part of the time, since the year 1692, was owing to the wise provisions of that code of laws, called the popery laws; this code in all parts of it, which prohibited the acquisition of landed property by the Roman Catholics, has been lately, with a liberality too extensive, entirely repealed; and nothing can demonstrate, the political wisdom of these repealed

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ed laws, in a more forceable manner, than the present conduct of the Roman Catholics : Their new allies, the Puritans, opposed the repeal of these laws violently in parliament : the repeal was carried by the Protestants, of the established church, and by the influence of government. What return have the Roman Catholics made to both ? the instant they are freed from the pressure of these laws, they hark-in to the first call of their old enemies the Puritans ; and conspire with them, to overthrow that government and religion, which had taken compassion on them, and relieved them. When therefore the Roman Catholics cry out, we behaved peaceably whilst restrained by laws, which compelled us to be quiet ; but you have annihilated these laws, and we will take advantage of your generosity, and use it to your destruction : do they not convince us that we have acted unwisely in repealing, and

and that, for our preservation, we should speedily re-enact them

In the third place, it is evident from the following observations, that no merit is to be attributed to the Roman Catholics for their peaceable behaviour at home, since the year 1692. When the civil war, which raged in this country during the years 1689 1690 and 1691, was finally terminated by the reduction of Limerick ; all, or most of the Roman Catholics in the military line, the refuse of the sword, pestilence and famine, retired to France : they had at home experienced, all the horrors attendant on these three scourges of mankind ; the estates of their nobility and gentry, were forfeited to the crown ; and bestowed on the Protestants : the whole country was reduced to such a state of depopulation and distress, that it became almost a wilderness : in such a situation, which continued for more than half a century, and from which this country
by

by slow degrees has only just emerged: the Roman Catholics remained quiet, from inability to be troublesome: the popery laws continued that inability, and insured the repose of the church and state: the arms, the revenue, and the landed property of the Kingdom, remained in the hands of the Protestants: so that the peaceable demeanor of the Roman Catholics since the year 1692 deserves just the same degree of praise, and has the same degree of merit, as the submission of a chained tyger to his keeper.

THE last argument, which I have heard urged, in support of the claim of the Roman Catholics, to the privilege of voting on elections for members of parliament, is; that there are many Protestant countries, such as Holland, and several states in Germany, which admit their Roman Catholic subjects, to the

the participation of every civil privilege enjoyed by Protestants : that in those states the Roman Catholics equally contribute with the Protestants, to the welfare of the state, although the established religion be Protestantism ; and that we should profit by such good example, and admit the Roman Catholics into a full participation of all civil rights ; in which case, they would be equally zealous with the Protestants, in the support of the constitution in church and state.

To this I answer, first that the position, on which the whole is built, is false ; for in no state whatsoever, in any part of the globe, in which the established religion is Protestantism, are the Roman Catholics suffered to enjoy any civil privilege, which impowers them to interfere in any manner with the state ? Or which can intitle them to any share of the supreme authority : and particularly, they are absolutely excluded, throughout the Dutch republic,

republick, where the established religion is Calvinism, not only from any share in the supreme authority, but even from all possible influence in the administration of the state. Yet I have been informed by a gentleman of excellent understanding, now in this kingdom, who was bred up to trade in Holland, and who resided for a considerable part of his life there, that near four-fifths of the people, throughout the Dutch Territories, are Roman Catholics; they indeed enjoy there as the Roman Catholics here, a free toleration in religion, and perfect security in their estates; but they are not suffered to interfere in public affairs: nor will any wise state ever permit any persons, except those who are of the religion established in the state, to interfere in their public councils; we have now sufficient reason to bewail that the Puritanic faction amongst ourselves, has been allowed any influence in the house of commons.

SECONDLY

SECONDLY, I say, that though it were true, that the several Protestant Germanic states, admitted their Roman Catholic subjects to a participation of every civil privilege enjoyed by Protestants; yet it will not follow that such an extension of civil privileges to the Roman Catholics of this country, would be beneficial to the state, I have already shewn that it would be ruinous to the church and state, and the Puritan advocates for such a measure, never reflect on the difference of circumstances between us and the Germanic Protestant states. In these states, the Protestants generally exceed the Roman Catholics in number, in a great proportion, so that no danger can be apprehended from them; our situation is the reverse, they out-number us, twenty to one: in the protestant Germanic states, there has not been that great change of landed property which has taken place amongst us; their Ro-
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man Catholics have not been reduced, nor their Protestants enriched, by forfeitures; so that the zeal of Roman Catholics in Germany, is not inflamed against their Protestant fellow subjects, by losses and disgrace: our situation, with respect to our Roman Catholic neighbours, is the reverse: their bigotry is imbittered by ambition, defeats, revenge, avarice, and every bad passion, which can agitate the human breast, and rouse in it, every sentiment of savage barbarity.

Now, my brethern, I shall point out to you the steps, which it is absolutely necessary you should immediately take for your preservation: be not discouraged at the superior numbers of your adversaries in this kingdom: you have it yet in your power to crush the wicked conspiracy of these two restless and ambitious factions. Rouse from your trance, play the men and you are yet safe!

you

you have yet the laws of the land, the army, the revenue, and the supreme authority of the state, on your side. The Protestants of the established church throughout the British Islands, exceed the Roman Catholics in number, in the proportion of six to one at least; and in wealth and power, in the proportion of one hundred to one: be no longer cajoled by the insidious declamations, of designing demagogues exhorting you to assist them, in bringing about what they call a reformation, but which in reality is no other, than the prosecution of a deep laid scheme to oppress and ruin you, to destroy the constitution in church and state, and build their own greatness on the ruins: you have been drawn in already, under a thousand specious pretences, to assist the Puritanic and Popish factions, by countenancing, and in part forming, their volunteer associations, which they are now endeavouring to turn to your destruction.

Let

Let every true protestant of the established church who has unwarily been prevailed on to join any Puritanic or popish volunteer corps, immediately separate himself from it; and let all the protestants of the established church, immediately form an association, for their own protection against their insidious enemies; let all Roman Catholics who have presumed to take arms, in open defiance of the known laws of the land, be immediately disarmed, and their leaders prosecuted and punished by due course of law. At this day, the law inflicts very heavy penalties on any Roman Catholic, who shall be found carrying arms; yet in open defiance of the law, a number of Roman Catholics have impudently presumed, in different parts of the kingdom, to assemble, regiment themselves as volunteers, appoint colonels and other military officers, provide themselves with all kinds of arms, and publicly learn military tactics.

tactics: and particularly in the city of Dublin, under the nose of government a body of men, chiefly Roman Catholics, have regimented and armed themselves, and publicly and frequently paraded through the streets, at noon day, in military order: and, as it were, designedly, to insult government, and the Protestants of the established church particularly, and set them at defiance, they have assumed the name of the *Irish Brigade*, being the title of that desperate set of renegadoes, who, deserting their country, have continued to fight against it, under the banners of the French King, for almost a century past continually recruited from Ireland: and our Dublin Brigade actually wears the uniform of one of the regiments, which compose that band of traytors. Is there any Protestant absurd enough to believe, that the Roman Catholics have taken arms, to defend his civil and religious rights? Instantly disarm this corps.

Non

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
tempus eget.*

CALL on your sheriffs, in your several counties, to assemble the Protestant freeholders, and at such assemblies, draw up instructions for your respective representatives, exhorting them strenuously to oppose all innovations in the constitution, whether under the pretence of reformation, a more equal representation, or otherwise; and to oppose the passing of any bill, tending to give the Roman Catholics, or any class, or description of them, a right to vote at the elections of members of parliament: support the franchises of boroughs, now under the influence of Protestants; preserve inviolate the precious right of suffrage to yourselves, as the bulwarks of the constitution in church and state: equal representation, in a country, under the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, if it should take place, will instantly annihilate both.

SHOULD

SHOULD the united factions attempt to resist your endeavours, to maintain your civil and religious liberties, in the state they have been handed down to you by your ancestors: as you have the present laws of the land on your side, they can do it no otherwise than by open force and violence, that is, by breaking out into open rebellion, as some of their manifestoes have already pretty plainly threatened they will do. In this case, exclusive of your own strength, you will be supported by the laws, and by a veteran army of sixteen thousand men, the constitutional troops of the state, your present military establishment: who are partly in this kingdom already and partly on their march hither: you will be supported by your brethren in England with the whole power of that realm: for they already see, that the real aim of these two factions, (however disguised under popular pretences) is to sever Ireland forever from Great Britain; and to establish a republic here, under the protection of France: a scheme utterly impracticable,

as I shall presently shew; and if it could be carried into execution, fraught with ruin not only to Ireland, but to Great-Britain: therefore she must, from sound policy, strain every nerve to defeat the execution of it. Thus supported, you may be assured of success, and that these two factions must vanish before you; it being notorious, that when once you shall sever yourselves from them, they will be utterly unable, with their combined strength, to bring five thousand men, in one body, into the field, and support them there for one month, notwithstanding all their boasting, of the number and strength of their volunteer army.

HAVING thus pointed out the present dangerous designs carrying on against the church and state, and the means of defeating them: I shall, before I conclude, make a few observations, tending to shew both the Puritans and Roman Catholics; in the first place, that their conspiracy will, in the end, be certainly defeated, and that the prosecution of it will be attended with

with their utter ruin, and in the second place, that were they to succeed in carrying it into execution, both sects would be irreparably injured by their success.

IN respect of the first point, the design of severing Ireland from Great Britain, and changing the government here into an independent republic, (which I have before observed to be the manifest aim of the combined factions) must be opposed by Great Britain, with its whole force: because it is evident in the present state of Europe, that if Great Britain and Ireland were under distinct governments, wholly unconnected with each other, they must both fall a prey to the combined and mighty nations of France and Spain: with difficulty can Great Britain, united with Ireland, withstand the joint attacks of these two great empires, how then, would either Great Britain or Ireland, if separated in interest from each other, be able to resist them! thus it is manifest that Great Britain, as she values her own

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liberty,

liberty, may her very existence as a nation, must strain every nerve, and exert all her power by land and sea, to support the just rights of our common sovereign over this country, and to enable him to repress any rebellion here, what the consequences of such a contest would be, let the combined factions well weigh, and form a judgment of the event, from the experience of the last age. In the great rebellion, which commenced in the year 1641 in this kingdom, the Roman Catholics were infinitely more powerful, than they now are, being proprietors of much the greater part of the landed estates in this kingdom: the army of the state did not then amount to eight thousand men: Great Britain herself was then bleeding at every pore, convulsed from north to south by a barbarous civil war: the Roman Catholics rose in arms, excited thereto by the Puritans; possessed themselves of almost the whole kingdom; and, taking all their armies together, had above fifty thousand men in arms: what was the event? the moment Great-Britain had an interval

interval of ease, Cromwell was dispatched hither, with so small a body of troops as ten thousand men: in one campaign he reduced the whole kingdom, not only to subjection, but to absolute slavery; he slew, hanged, or banished, all the insurgents, and divided their estates amongst his followers, which estates are possessed by their posterity to this day. It may be said, that the divisions, then raging in this kingdom, were the principal causes of his success; supposing they were, is it to be imagined, that there would be less divisions in this kingdom, if the two factions should now attempt a rebellion? I believe every thinking man must be convinced, that there would not.

In the civil war which commenced at the revolution, the Roman Catholics, under a King of their own sect, seized all or most of the landed estates in this kingdom; and indeed took possession of it all, except a small nook in the northern parts: They proscribed all the Protestants: they raised

raised an army of forty-eight thousand men: Lewis the fourteenth, at that time in the zenith of his power, sent a fleet of thirty sail of the line, an army of eight thousand men, multitudes of skilful officers, compleat arms for forty thousand men, a large train of artillery, and great sums of money, to support them in their resistance against England: the French fleet defeated that of England, in a great battle off the southern coast of Ireland. But what was the event? An English army was sent over hither, in two campaigns, the Irish were utterly subdued; the estates, they had usurped, restored to the rightful owners; such estates, as they rightfully possessed before the war, confiscated; their nobility, gentry, and soldiery, slain in battle, starved by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or driven into perpetual banishment. Learn, from these examples, ye turbulent agitators! what you are to expect from rebellion; sit down, and enjoy, the free exercise of your superstition, and your property, in peace; and by industrious application to
your

your several trades and callings, increase your own wealth and that of the state, preserve your own happiness, and be not misled by plausible demagogues to precipitate your own destruction. In vain will you oppose the event of the prosperous rebellion in America, to the examples I have set before your eyes. The immense ocean which separates America from Europe, the extent of that huge continent, (the revolted Colonies alone, occupying a tract of country, three thousand miles in length, and five-hundred in breadth) the present state of it, mostly uninhabited, incumbered with impenetrable forrests, huge morasses, and vast rivers: these were the causes of the ill success of the British arms, in that part of the globe, and not the courage, conduct or numbers, of the rebels, and their faithless Gallick allies. You, on the contrary, are in the very vicinage of Great Britain, your country is every where practicable, open, unfortified, and comparatively small in extent: Great Britain, notwithstanding her losses in the late war, infinitely stronger,

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er, both internally and externally now, than in the reign of King William the Third; and France much weaker: the very existence of the constitution of your country in church and state, depends on the suppression of any rebellion, you may engage in: such of your countrymen therefore, as regard the preservation of that constitution, (and I trust the number is not small) will assist in crushing you; look to the difference of your situation, from that of the Americans, and drop your illusive dreams of power and domination.

Now, as to the second point: supposing the united factions should succeed in severing Ireland from Great Britain for ever; it is easy to shew, that their situation would then, not only be infinitely less happy, than their present; but that they would sink into absolute slavery: I have already shewn, that such a revolution, could not even be attempted, without calling in the French

French and Spaniards, to assist the insurgents; and that if such a revolution were effected, by the power of these two mighty kingdoms, the absolute subjugation of Great Britain, by one or both of them, must precede such an event. What then would be the lot of the several classes of men which compose this state? the Protestants of the established church, who certainly would oppose this revolution to the last, would be treated with the same cruelty, with which the Loyalists of America are now treated; whose crimes are, that they dared to stand forth in arms in defence of their King and ancient constitution. The Puritans would, in a short time, be treated by their new masters, the French and Spaniards, as their restless brethren the Hugonots, have been already treated in France. The Roman Catholics would, at best, be subjected to the galling yoke of the French or Spanish monarchy, and treated in the same manner with the other subjects of France or

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Spain;

Spain ; that is subjected to the will of a despot, for the nation would, as well as Great Britain, be absolutely reduced to the condition of a French or Spanish province. Adieu then to equal, or any representation ! the slaves, who should breathe here, under such a domination, would have abundant occasion to exclaim, as the inhabitants of a Roman province heretofore did. *Victrix provincia plorat.*

I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,
your brother, and
devoted servant.

MENTOR.